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Labor and Education

REPORT OF
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
ON
SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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LABOR AND EDUCATION

REPORT ON SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Submitted by the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education

INTRODUCTION

The report on social studies in the public schools compiled by the Committee on Education and submitted to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was formulated by a committee appointed under authority of the 1919 convention of the American Federation of Labor and continued in existence by subsequent conventions.

The Executive Council under the authority conferred by the 1919 convention, authorized the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a committee to investigate the selecting or preparing and publishing text books prepared for classes of workers. The committee appointed by the president for this work consisted of Matthew Woll, President of the International Photo-Engravers; C. L. Baine, Secretary, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; John P. Frey, Editor of the Journal of the International Molders' Union; Charles B. Stillman, President of the American Federation of Teachers and George W. Perkins, President of the Cigarmakers' International Union.

The 1922 convention of the American Federation of Labor, in expressing its deep appreciation of the importance of the work entrusted to this committee, authorized its continuance as a permanent committee.

The services of Otto S. Beyer aided the committee materially in much of the research work contained in the following pages.

The publication of this report was authorized by the American Federation of Labor in advance of the 1923 convention and in this form will be presented to the convention. In addition to this, it is commended to the earnest attention of all who are interested in the problems of education. It will be found to be a most timely and important contribution to the thought and knowledge in the most important field.

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REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION ON SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

To the President and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.:

Gentlemen: The activities of the American Federation of Labor in furthering the growth and progress of the public schools have been very effectively set forth in a pamphlet recently published: "Education for All, Official Record of the American Federation of Labor in the Struggle to Bring Knowledge to the Masses."

The first convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1881 declared: "We are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children." Other resolutions favoring compulsory education and the extension of the public school system were passed at subsequent conventions. In addition, the Federation has repeatedly advocated free text-books, large quotas of teachers, smaller classes, higher teachers' salaries, security of tenure, democracy in education, training for citizenship, physical education, wider use of school plant, night schools, continuation schools, industrial and technical education, vocational guidance—in fact, almost every measure enlarging the usefulness of the public schools which has been approved by progressive educators. By a long record of sympathy and aid to the public educational system of the country, the Federation has established its accord with educational progress.

Recently public attention has been turned to the social studies in the public schools. In accordance with its traditional policy the Federation voted in 1920 to undertake a comprehensive evaluation of the status of public education in these subjects—the courses, the text-books, the manner in which the subjects are taught, and the extent to which they have been introduced.

Instruction in the field of social and economic studies is vitally concerned with wide-spread understanding of our social and economic institutions and forces. In order to raise the plane of instruction in civics, economics, sociology and history in our public schools, interpretations both on the written page and in oral instruction should follow upon synthetic consideration of all elements constituting the field. The prevailing defects of the past have been due to either a philosophy or a practice of repression. Labor is concerned that the factual bases of these studies shall be the important institutions and functions of national life.

There are no more important determining factors than the economic

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We have had the valuable assistance in the research work for this report of O. S. Beyer, Jr., consulting engineer of New York. Harry H. Moore, Secretary of the National Committee for Teaching Citizenship, working with U. S. Bureau of Education also gave valuable assistance, as did the publishers who made available text-books published by them.

fabric to which the majority of citizens contribute the larger share of their creative energy. Labor does not believe that this phase of social studies should be stressed to the exclusion of all others, but that it should have an emphasis commensurate with its significance.

Charges have frequently been reiterated that social and economic studies as taught in public schools were lacking in that broad inclusive vision that reflects the common life. Whether this situation was due to partisan influences that sought to divert educational agencies to propaganda purposes or to an uncritical attitude that unconsciously accepts the conventional, the effect has been equally harmful. It has retarded our achieving a truthful and a unified understanding of economic and social forces and problems.

Because we realize that educational progress conditions human progress we are concerned with suggestions for the development of better educational facilities and methods. The record of organized labor on education is ample earnest of our integrity of purpose and constructive method in submitting for consideration and practical application this report.

The report presents facts on social studies in our public schools indicating what is wrong with our text-books and instruction. These factual arguments should constitute the strongest possible appeal to those writers and distributors of text-books who respond to professional incentives. The committee believes the report contains constructive suggestions which constitute definite standards for judgments by all concerned with the text-books—whether school boards, teachers, parents, citizens, authors, or publishers.

PART I

Influences at Work in Public Education

1. The Menace to Public Education.
2. Who Is Responsible?
3. Safeguards and Remedies.

1. THE MENACE TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

In recent years there have been well authenticated reports that selfish interests are seeking to use the public schools for propaganda purposes, are attempting an indefensible censorship of the utterances of teachers, and are undermining the dignity and independence of the teaching profession. Such activities strike at the very heart of successful democracy, and tend to tear down the usefulness of the structure of public education which the members of organized labor, in common with other public spirited citizens, have striven to build up.

The trade-union movement in the United States has always taken a vital interest in public education and has in many instances throughout the past century been responsible for the extension and strengthening of the educational system of the country. Professor F. T. Carlton declares*: "The vitality of the movement for tax-supported schools was derived not from the humanitarian leaders, but from the growing class of wage-earners." Not, therefore, chiefly because the reactionary propaganda in question may tend to injure the immediate interests of working men and women, but rather because labor is proud of its record as the original organized sponsor of universal public education, and sees the importance to the nation of keeping the wells of truth undefiled, it was found necessary to investigate the accuracy of these reports, the extent of the damage done, and to inquire in what ways the trade unions may cooperate in the effort to give the youth of the country free and unfettered education which will enable them to cope with the problems of the future.

A manifestation of the attempt to restrict public school teaching, which is both menacing and undeniable, is the array of scattered cases throughout the country where teachers or other educational authorities have actually been dismissed or suspended for holding views distasteful to industrial commercial and financial groups, or even for joining teachers' unions. There are numerous such cases, which we have canvassed, but which we can not review here in any detail.

2. WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

In an effort to find the causes of this drive on education we have investigated the more important organizations attempting to influence public education, for whatever purpose.

Much of the pressure has come from local bodies such as Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs, and the like.

The character and methods of such bodies differ from place to place, and can not be subjected to general classification. In so far as they are harmful, however, they derive their impetus mainly from two sources: First, the wave of hysteria against "radicalism" which passed over the country during and immediately after the war

*Economic Influences upon Educational Progress in the U. S. 1820-50. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin—Vol. IV, 1908.

and which was spread indiscriminately in the press, the pulpit and other organs of expression, and was directed even against ordinary liberal movements and organized labor, and second, the calculated propaganda of national organizations. With the natural subsidence of the tide of hysteria and the reappearance of sanity and liberalism, much of the power of the first cause is removed, and the traces of its work are rapidly being effaced by the normal good sense of the American people. The national organizations, however, are for the most part still in existence and at work, and it is with these that we must deal.

The national organizations actively interested in public education are of three kinds: (*a*) Professional associations and official or semi-official agencies directly and regularly concerned with education; (*b*) philanthropic foundations and societies of long standing founded with educational objects but representing various points of view of those not actively engaged in education; and (*c*) organizations not primarily interested in education but attempting to influence the public schools from their special points of view.

The following is a list of the national organizations classified according to the above definition:

A. PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

American Federation of Teachers.
The National Council for the Social Studies.
National Education Association.

B. PHILANTHROPIC EDUCATIONAL BODIES

Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
Educational Alliance.
General Education Board. (Founded by John D. Rockefeller.)
National Committee for Teaching Citizenship.
Progressive Education Association.
Public Education Association.

C. OTHER ORGANIZATIONS ATTEMPTING TO INFLUENCE EDUCATION

American Bankers' Association.
American Civic Association.
"America First" Publicity Association.
American Legion.
Better America Federation.
Chamber of Commerce of the United States.
International Association of Rotary Clubs.
Inter-Racial Council.
National American Council.
National Association for Constitutional Government.
National Association of Manufacturers.
National Industrial Conference Board.
National Security League.

In assessing the effect of these various organizations, account must be taken of the concrete meaning put into the generalization, which make up their programs. Many of them use terms such as "Americanism," "Americanization," "Loyalty," "Patriotism," etc., which seem quite admirable to the average citizen, but which, when translated into concrete terms under the influence of such a body as the "Better American Federation" often mean opposition to any action or opinion having the slightest liberal or progressive tendency.

3. SAFEGUARDS AND REMEDIES

The American labor movement does not wish public education to be influenced by partisan bodies of any kind. The persons most competent to judge in detail what should be taught and how it should be taught are those who are themselves engaged in the educational profession. The American Federation of Labor does not wish to exert, even in the smallest degree, the same kind of influence which reactionary organizations are attempting to exercise. It merely wishes to assist the educational profession and the general public to resist the encroachments of those who are attempting to use the schools in their own interest.

Since only a constant watchfulness on the part of individuals everywhere will provide a permanent safeguard against this sort of influence, the most necessary task is an awakening of the public, as Professor Dewey says, by spreading the information broadcast about what is being done and the organizations responsible.

Local labor bodies should be particularly alert to express, through any channels open to them, their resentment against any manifestation of the reactionary drive against public education.

The best protection, however, will come from the professional independence and adequate information of the teachers themselves. When teachers are adequately paid, well informed on current problems, and able through the power of organization to resist improper influence, the schools will be safe. The growth of the American Federation of Teachers is therefore the best means of public defense, since this organization is consistently and effectively working towards these objects for the rank and file of the teaching profession.

PART II

Nature and Extent of Instruction in Social Studies

1. Importance of the Social Studies.
2. Content of the Courses.
3. Extent to Which They Are Being Taught.

1. IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES

What are the subjects of study which may deal with matters in which organized labor is particularly interested? They are grouped under the general heading of "Social Studies," and include courses in History, Civics, Economics, Sociology and the like.

A pamphlet issued by the U. S. Bureau of Education entitled, "Social Studies in Secondary Education,"* defines them as follows:

> "The social studies are understood to be those whose subject-matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society, and to man as a member of social groups."

A booklet just issued by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Business entitled, "Social Studies in Secondary Schools," defines their purpose as—

> "that of giving our youth an awareness of what it means to live together in organized society, an appreciation of how we do live together, and an understanding of the conditions precedent to living together well, to the end that our youth may develop those ideals, abilities, and tendencies to act which are essential to effective participation in our society."

A committee of the American Political Science Association defines the purpose of civics as follows:

> "1. To awaken a knowledge of the fact that the citizen is in a social environment whose laws bind him for his own good.
> "2. To acquaint the citizen with the forms of organization and methods of administration of government in its several departments."

This definition includes voluntary non-governmental agencies as well as formal government. Other definitions of the purpose of the social studies include an equally broad field.

It will thus be seen that the social studies are highly important in public education, and that their importance is far greater than would be indicated by the practices of schools in the past. It is not only necessary for the public schools to prepare children for adequate citizenship in the sense of understanding what is expected of them in society at its present stage of development, but it is also necessary to give them some understanding of the problems which future generations will have to solve. In addition, sound vocational training for the individual can be based only on the general foundation of the social studies. As the Association of Collegiate Schools of Business puts it in their report entitled, "Social Studies in Secondary Schools":

> "Any program of social studies which hopes to be successful must be drawn with consideration for vocational needs. This suggests no conflict of interests. Men *work* together in organized society. Vocational training will be greatly improved—even as a 'money making' matter for the individual—by the right kind of social study backbone."

*Bulletin, 1916 No. 28, Dept. of Interior Bureau of Education

In estimating the importance of the social studies, therefore, we must agree with the above report in saying:

> "The question should not be 'how to put the social studies into our curricula' but 'how to organize our curricula around social objectives'? This Commission believes that the social studies should be the backbone of secondary education, with which all other studies and school activities should be closely articulated according to their contributions to the social objectives of education."

2. CONTENT OF THE COURSES

This is not the place to enter exhaustively into the proper content and treatment of social science courses—a matter which is admirably discussed in various government documents and reports of educational societies.

It will be sufficient, as far as general considerations go, to summarize briefly some of the more important conclusions of educational authorities. Most of those who have been devoting attention to the subject believe that the social studies should be introduced earlier in the curriculum than has been the custom in most school systems, several years at least before the "high school" grades. This for the benefit both of those who leave school early, and of those who continue. They also believe—and this applies particularly to history—that more attention should be devoted to social and economic matters with consideration for the human equasion. It is also essential that developments of the last fifty years should be adequately considered. And, lastly, they believe that instead of emphasizing memory work and stereotyped judgments, the pupils should be given as large an opportunity as possible to understand forces and movements, to watch them actually at work, and to exercise their own critical faculties about social problems.

Having these ideals in mind, it is obvious that the history, achievements and status of the trade-union movement in the modern world is one of the most important topics which must come under the social sciences. To give a fragmentary view of organized labor is surely to prepare pupils inadequately for their work in the world, whether they are destined to join the great majority as wage and salary earners, or whether they become professional men or employers. The same is true of all other social problems having to do with the welfare of the working people.

We are not relying solely upon our own judgment in making this statement. Scientific data bears out our stand as is illustrated by the findings of two important investigations made in cooperation with the Committee on Economy of Time of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association.

One study was undertaken to determine what the content of a course of study in history would be if we accept the current opinion that "the chief purpose of teaching history in the elementary school is to make pupils more intelligent with respect to the more crucial activities, conditions and problems of present day life."* It was based on the hypothesis "that if a representative list of the more crucial modern problems could be secured, and if, among the books dealing with each problem, those be selected which give the clearest statement of that problem, it might be expected that these books would contain at least the sort of history or the amount of historical reference, which, in the judgment of the author, is essential to an understanding of the modern problem they are discussing."

Twenty-seven books on modern social and economic problems and 142 articles in the International Encyclopedia dealing with these problems were selected for the

*Horn E., Possible Defects in the Present Content of American History as Taught in the Schoo s The Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Part I 1918 pp. 156-172

purposes of this analysis. It was found that 24.67 per cent of the references to these problems in the elementary American history texts were to the period 1861-1916, whereas the book and encyclopedia article references to this same period were respectively 85.7 per cent and 74 per cent of the total number. In other words, text-book writers refer to the period since the Civil War once to every three times they refer to other periods while authors of books on modern problems find it necessary to refer to modern times five times for every time they refer to all other periods combined. For an understanding of current social problems this would indicate the need for a greater emphasis upon the last half century than is ordinarily given.

An attempt was also made in the same study "to discover what phases of history were most frequently referred to in the discussion of modern problems." The following table taken from the study gives the results reached:

"Distribution of References to Three Phases of History

	Political Per Cent	*Military Per Cent*	*Social and Economic Per Cent*
Modern History Text-books	42	40	18
Books on Modern Problems	18.7	4.7	78
Encyclopedia Articles	37	1.7	60

This table further indicates the failure of text-books to give the necessary social and economic data for an understanding of modern problems.

Another portion of the study was devoted to a discovery of what persons were most frequently referred to in discussions of modern problems. Nearly 1,600 individuals were mentioned. Of these, Gompers ranked eighth in importance, that is, only seven men, living or dead, were mentioned more times in connection with more problems than was Gompers. Of the individuals then living (1916), Gompers ranked third, Roosevelt and Wilson preceding him. This survey would tend to prove that the labor movement—for Gompers is the embodiment of that movement—is a subject which we can not afford to overlook in our history texts if we are to give the coming generation an adequate equipment for intelligent citizenship.

The other study referred to was "an attempt to discover what should be the content of a course of study in civics",† Believing that "the function of civics instruction is to prepare the pupil for citizenship in a democracy" the author tried to determine "what are the most significant and most persistent problems of the American people which seek solution through the machinery of government." Since politicians are the professionals in the field and since the platform shows what the politicians think the people want, political platforms for three-quarters of a century were taken as the basis of this study.

All subjects mentioned were classified under twenty-six general heads, one of which was labor. An analysis of national party platforms from 1844 to 1916 shows that labor was not mentioned prior to 1868 when it ranked eighth in importance. From that time on it was mentioned in every platform varying in importance from first to sixteenth. In both 1904 and 1908 it held first place, in 1912 third and in 1916 fourth. Throughout the entire period, 1844-1916, the relative ranking of labor in the platforms of all parties was eighth. In the Democratic Party's platform it ranked sixth, and in the Republican Party's twelfth.

*W. C. Bagley, & H. O. Rugg, Content of American History as Taught in the Seventh and Eighth Grades: An Analysis of Typical School Text-books, Bulletin No. 16 School of Education, University of Illinois, 1916.

†B. B. Bassett, The Content of the Course of Study in Civics. Seventeenth Yearbook. Nationa Society for the Study of Education Part I 1919 pp. 63-80

Of the national issues considered in state platforms during the non-presidential years 1889-1914 labor ranked fifth in importance.

As a result of his study Bassett concludes that "any course of instruction whose purpose it is to prepare for intelligent suffrage through the exercise of civic judgments upon concrete problems should contain at least the following topics: Finance, office elections, civil service, . . . corporations, labor, foreign relations, natural resources, monetary system and moral issues.

These studies clearly indicate that if scientific methods were applied in the determination of what the contents of text-books *should be*, the labor movement would be recognized as one of the greatest determining forces in modern life and be considered accordingly.

Not content, however, with the results obtained from these researches, we authorized the chairman to address a circular letter to numerous prominent educators requesting their opinion as to the place the labor movement should occupy in the text-books and social studies of our public schools.

LETTER OF INQUIRY

DEAR SIR: The American labor movement, as you no doubt are aware, has from its inception been vitally interested in public school education. This interest now leads us to ask your opinion on a matter of particular moment to us.

The objectives of instruction in history and civics, as we see them should be determined by the needs of society. Since we are living in a complex and highly developed industrial state we consider that an understanding of our privileges, rights and duties in that state requires a knowledge of the social and industrial life of the country and the broader functions of government as related thereto.

It is common knowledge that the labor movement has had, and will no doubt continue to have a powerful influence upon the development of social and industrial institutions. The proper solution of many difficult problems of today, such as unemployment, standards of living, working conditions, housing, workmen's compensation—so-called labor problems—is of great social significance. Consequently intelligent action by the community at large in dealing with them, requires a knowledge of the labor movement and the conditions which in large measure determine the well-being of society. We hold therefore that if our public schools are adequately to discharge their responsibilities in the teaching of history and civics they should take cognizance of these social problems and labor's relation thereto.

Recognizing, however, the importance of the opinion of well-known educators in matters of this sort we are writing you, among others, for a statement as to whether or not from the educational and historical points of view, the labor movement—its history, ideals and achievements, and the problems of vital interest to labor are of sufficient importance to warrant attention in public schools. Will you therefore please give us your frank opinion as to the place which this subject should hold in a modern text-book on history and civics?

Appreciating a reply at your early convenience, I am,

Very truly yours,
(Signed) MATTHEW WOLL,
Chairman, A. F. of L. Committee on Education.

TYPICAL REPLIES

Charles A. Beard (New School of Social Research)

"Replying to your letter about the place of the labor movement in the social studies of our schools, I beg to say that, in my opinion, every unbiased student

and teacher should recognize the importance of the labor movement in modern life and give to it a proper amount of space in any course on history, economics, or citizenship. If you will turn to the pages of the *Historical Outlook*, an excellent magazine published for teachers of history and civics, you will see that the whole trend of opinion is in favor of social, as distinguished from merely political, history and that the various phases of the labor movement are included in nearly all programs for revising our curricula. Indeed, the idea has already received attention in the more progressive text-books and will receive more recognition as time goes on."

F. G. Bonser (Teacher's College, Columbia University)

"In my judgment there is no domestic question before the American people of the present and the rising generations of greater importance than that of the problems connected with the conditions of production, the distribution of products, and the rewards of labor. Only as these problems are justly and fairly solved can a genuinely democratic state of human society be increasingly accomplished.

"The text-books in history and citizenship should include a pretty full treatment of the labor problem and related problems from at least the development of the Guild System to the present. The changing conditions brought about by the industrial revolution, the development of the factory system, the growing aggregation of capital on the one hand and of labor on the other, the evolution of collective bargaining, the gradual legal recognition of the status of organized labor and of organized capital, the problems of exploitation, the various methods of cooperation to improve conditions and relationships, and the increased tendency to consider standards of living and other really human considerations and values as well as merely economic features of the problem, should all be included. Young people should be given the basis for seeing the issues exactly as they are, and there is no better way to do this than to find out accurately how these conditions and issues have come about.

"In passing, I want to urge that the men and women engaged as laborers are no more in need of an intelligent comprehension of the real economic, social, and human problems of labor and production than are the employers of labor, or those engaged in the professional occupations who often imagine that they have no responsibilities in relationship to these problems. These questions are of vital importance to every citizen, whatever his occupation. No one can evade responsibility. In a democracy the problems of securing justice to each individual are the responsibility of all.

"This study of the history and current problems of labor should be begun in the upper grades and be provided for increasingly in the high schools. It should have its place in continuation and vocational schools as an important part of their related work. In all of these questions of labor and of the development of production, distribution, consumption, and standards of living, it should be the aim to get clearly the facts of historic significance and of present-day conditions. The purpose should not be to cultivate prejudices or one-sided points of view. The work should include much attention to the ideals of a satisfactory life, to the ideals of democracy, and to the necessary qualities of cooperation in securing justice for all. To realize the ideals of democracy it should be made clear that for every right one has also a corresponding responsibility or duty. Facts should be emphasized which show the values of fair play, a square deal, and an humanitarian spirit. Ethical and moral values should receive attention as well as the economic. Clear thinking is necessary to the solution of these problems. To think clearly we must have accurate facts to think with."

Thomas H. Briggs (Teacher's College, Columbia University)

"My opinion is that labor problems and the labor movement have not received anything like the attention in history teaching that they merit. But, as a matter of fact, we are not likely to get any consensus of judgment as to the weighting of materials because of the pre-judgments of the people who attempt to make the decision."

Nicholas Murray Butler (Columbia University)

"I have received and read with attention your letter addressed to me under date of April 18, relative to the desirability of including economic history and economic conditions in the substantial instruction given generally to American youth. I beg to reply that I regard such instruction as vitally important, and an understanding of fundamental economic laws and their working and of the industrial organization of the modern state, as essential to sound and intelligent citizenship. The modern state rests upon an economic basis as obviously as the ancient state rested upon a military or a caste basis. A general understanding of this fact and its implications is of vital importance to the welfare of society."

John Dewey (Columbia University)

"I am strongly of the opinion that a modern text-book on history and civics should give considerable space to the history and aims of the labor movement. This, however, should be construed in a broad way.

"I should think that the proper beginning might be with the emancipation of the serfs from feudalism in Europe and go on to discuss the historical evolution of the laboring class with special reference to the development of machinery and the industrial revolution. For the present situation, I should put considerable emphasis upon the existing state of the law with reference to labor, with a discussion of its evolution out of the old master and servant relation and an account of the development of the idea of freedom of contract and the rights of property as the latter have been interpreted by the courts."

Charles A. Ellwood (University of Missouri)

"I am very certain that our Democracy can not succeed unless our people are prepared to solve their social problems, because there is no one who can solve them in a Democracy except the people themselves. Social studies should occupy one-third of the space of the curriculum in our schools from the kindergarten to the end of the A.B. course in college. Particularly strong courses on all of our social problems should be developed in the seventh, eight, and ninth grades, as well as in our senior high schools. The labor movement and the just claims of labor should, of course, hold a conspicuous place in these social study courses, especially in the grades which I have just mentioned."

E. S. Furniss (Yale University)

"My experience has been that pupils of the age of those which attend our secondary schools acquire abstract ideas with very great difficulty and at best in a very hazy fashion, if, indeed, they can acquire them at all. It is also my belief founded on some years of experience in teaching the labor courses in college that no adequate treatment can be given to this great subject which does not take account of abstract principles—the social theories, historical forces, evolutionary tendencies, etc., which are involved in the growth of modern societal forms. It appears to me, therefore,

that any attempt to teach this subject to secondary school pupils must be limited to statements of fact and events which can be retained in the mind and made the background for more mature study. This position is not taken because of any desire to pre-empt the field for the colleges but from a sincere belief that any attempt to go beyond this limited sphere will result in a hotch-potch of undigested and misconceived ideas which are not only of no practical use to the student but actually make against correct thinking in later life. I have had reason to believe that the men most easily led astray into utopian paths are men who have received some partial and distorted information of an abstract nature early in life. These men are dangerous to the labor movement because of their very enthusiasm and aggressiveness. An ignorant man with a great moral enthusiasm is a menace to real progress.

"My position, then, is this: These subjects ought by no means to be neglected in connection with beginning studies in government and history; but there should be no attempt to go much beyond the factual and the definite in secondary schools. If text-books are re-written to take account of these forces, or if new ones are prepared to complement the existing texts, they should not be too ambitious. It is well to be content with possible attainments and not to strive for the impossible."

J. Montgomery Gambrill (Teacher's College, Columbia University)

"Economic, social and political problems should be studied both in history and in civics courses and in such a way as to show their inseparable character. The older text-books in history were largely devoted to political, constitutional and military affairs and gave too large a proportion of their space to earlier times and to wars and periods of excitement and adventure. The older civics courses were too exclusively concerned with a rather formal study of constitutional and political machinery. There has been a marked revolt against these tendencies in recent years. There is an increasing emphasis upon the modern and recent in history which indeed sometimes threatens to become extreme; and there is a rapidly increasing attention to the industrial and social aspects of the development of nations and of mankind. Civics is more and more concerning itself with economic and social problems, again with signs of an extreme tendency in some cases that may crowd out vitally important political problems. These changes in history and civics of course include a good deal of attention to industrial relations and so-called 'labor problems.'

"These tendencies are in my opinion wise and even necessary for the adequate study of the public problems that concern us all. There are, however, certain dangers to be guarded against. One of these is the neglect of the study of government. It is through government that organized society acts and the study of economic and social problems apart from politics is likely to be as inadequate as the study of governmental machinery without regard to economic and social problems. Another difficulty is that the subjects in question studied with reference to current conditions are highly controversial and thus invite partisanship and propaganda. This is no reason for avoiding them in schools unless we shirk our duty in providing a really practical and valuable civic education. It is highly important, however, that these problems should be presented and studied in a scientific spirit. This means that the instruction should not concern itself with instilling correct doctrine, which after all no person or group has the right to define, but with a clear description of conditions and a fair statement of problems and of different points of view regarding them. Clear and honest thinking and the spirit of tolerance should be cardinal aims. It would be nothing less than a social tragedy if we drifted into a state of affairs in which our public schools were openly and on principle used as centers of official propaganda,

now for the business man's point of view, again for the labor point of view, again perhaps for the socialist's point of view, according to which group of citizens might be able to secure control. What is needed is an intelligent acquaintance with the great civic problems of the day and some capacity for studying them fairly and for appreciating the point of view of persons who belong to other groups."

Albert Bushnell Hart (Harvard University)

"In a community like the United States, where every intelligent man and woman is expected to take an interest and a part in public affairs, it is certainly desirable that there should be recognition of labor conditions. In my own teaching in university classes, I have for years included the study of the elements of the labor situation, and its problems.

"When it comes to the establishment of formal courses, we are confronted with the great difficulty that the subject is highly contentious. It seems like putting a course on the history of the Republican and Democratic parties into the schools; or a course in the history of churches—where people feel so intensely on both sides, and where there is such a radical lack of agreement, it would seem likely to break up the schools if such explosive courses were introduced."

Charles H. Judd (University of Chicago)

"I have your letter of April 18. It is my judgment that a very radical reform will have to be made and that shortly in the course of study of American schools so as to include social-science material on a scale never before thought of. I think that the movement which is coming is likely to encounter some opposition in various quarters because there will be a great many people who do not think that it is safe to teach in the public schools economic and social principles, about many of which there will be some question.

"I am engaged at the present time, with my colleague Marshall, in the preparation of a series of text-books which aim to introduce material of this type on a large scale into the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. This section of the school system is in many respects more plastic in its curriculum than any other section. Our hope is that the introduction of this material at this point will influence the course of study in the higher institutions and in the lower. My judgment is that such material ought to occupy an independent and primary position in the grades mentioned and I shall do everything I can to promote that type of program."

Harry Pratt Judson (University of Chicago)

"No discussion in the history of civics can be complete without an adequate discussion of the situation as to labor. On the other hand, I do not believe that any course of study in the public schools should contain a propaganda for any particular group in our social community. It should contain a fair statement of facts and principles applying to all groups."

Clyde L. King (University of Pennsylvania)

"In the treatment of history or of civics it would be as incorrect to omit reference to the history and functions of the labor union movements as it would be to omit reference to the history and function of farmers' organizations or of chambers of commerce or of churches."

Alexis F. Lange (University of California)

"No 'modern text-book on history and civics' is adequate that does not further team work for the common good. But it certainly can not do so without giving sufficient attention to the 'labor movement' to lead to sympathetic insight and appreciation on the part of our young Americans.

"But the best text-books can easily be spoiled by the teachers. And so my chief concern is with the problem of how to get well-informed and trained teachers determined to do all they can to break down barriers between group and group and to promote in every way possible our living together on a steadily rising level of social justice."

Wesley C. Mitchell (The National Bureau of Economic Research)

"In answer to your letter of April 16 let me express a very strong conviction that the history of the labor movement is one of the most important, if not the most important single topic in the record of the human race. What can be learned about it should therefore be given full and careful attention in all school courses upon history. Of course the fundamental trouble is that so little can now be found about the lives, aspirations and activities of the inarticulate masses. Within the last century or two, however, materials have become much more abundant and should find a conspicuous place in books and courses.

"While I say this I know that you will agree with me when I add that the story of the labor movement should be told with as strict veracity as the material makes possible. There is no more excuse for slurring over the mistakes which labor organizations made in the past than there is for slurring over (say) the corruption of municipal politics in this country or the atrocities of our national policy toward the Indians. It is not only dishonest but also educationally disastrous to white-wash either the great men or the great movements of the past. They are great enough with all their defects to command the admiration of honest minds. And if we try to see them as they are rather than as we wish they might have been, we shall have a truer perspective in which to judge of our own fallible efforts."

F. M. M. Murry (Teacher's College, Columbia University)

"I received your letter of April 19, inquiring if I thought, as an educator, the problems of vital interest to labor are of sufficient importance to warrant attention to them in the public schools.

"I certainly think that such attention should be given them. Such attention should be due not only for the sake of information, but for the sake of full comprehension and sympathy with the whole labor situation. The public schools are aiming at citizenship, and proper citizenship involves identification on the part of every young person with the whole labor situation. This problem should have an important place in the course of instruction."

David T. Muzzey (Columbia University)

"In reply to your letter of the 18th, I beg to say that I am thoroughly in favor of teaching the subject of the labor movement and labor conditions in our country in our schools and colleges, and I believe that an ever-increasing amount of this material is being incorporated into our text-books on history, civics and economics."

John A. Ryan (National Catholic Welfare Council)

"Responding to your request for a statement on the inclusion of the history, ideals and achievements of the labor movement in public school courses in history

and civics, I would say that in my opinion such instruction would be of great importance and benefit to the pupils. Possibly the presentation of a subject like the labor movement would be more appropriate in a course of sociology, but courses in sociology are not usually given in grades below the college, or at any rate, below the last two years of high school instruction."

These letters are typical of others received of similar import but which want of space forbids including in this report.

Careful analysis of the above quoted excerpts from letters received manifests clearly that the educators practically agree with the stand of the American Federation of Labor that it is one of the most important topics to be considered in courses in history and civics. In turn we agree with their position that in treating the labor movement all sides of controversial questions should be adequately presented.

3. EXTENT TO WHICH SOCIAL STUDIES ARE BEING TAUGHT

A survey of social studies in the high schools in 1919 was conducted by the U. S. Bureau of Education and published in the *Historical Outlook* of February, 1920 (pp. 87-88). This showed that out of 5,054 schools which replied, 70 per cent offered courses in current events. Nearly all, or 96 per cent, offered one or more courses in one or more branches of the social sciences. Although 95 per cent taught civics over half of these confined their teaching to the old formal civics, which deals merely with the machinery of political government, and does not touch upon broader problems or non-governmental organization. Furthermore, the great majority postponed the teaching of civics until the fourth year, only a small proportion introducing it as early as the first or second years. Only 36 per cent taught economics, and most of these reserved it for the final year. A very much smaller number—less than 10 per cent—offered courses in sociology. It will thus be seen that while the teaching of the social sciences had made some headway in high schools, modern standards were maintained only by a minority. If this was the case with high schools, we may reasonably infer that grade schools were still further behind in desirable standards.

A second survey, similar but more comprehensive than the first, just undertaken by Harry H. Moore in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Education reveals that considerable progress has been made during the last three years in the extent to which the social studies are being taught.* Out of a total of over 13,000 junior and senior high schools, all over the United States to which questionnaires were sent, 6,624 replied. The summaries of the answers received to the various questions of interest here are presented in Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4. The data contained in these tables is commented upon in the subsequent paragraphs:

Table 1 indicates, among other things, that of the total number of schools replying 5,712 or 86.1 per cent are now teaching current events, an advance of 16 per cent over the figure for 1919. Approximately the same proportion of schools are teaching civics now as in 1919, but, as shown in Appendix A, there has been a very noticeable shift from the old formal type of civics to the newer type of community civics. Two-thirds of the schools teaching civics indicated that they were emphasizing the social and economic life of the community rather than the machinery of government.

Moore's study further reveals that there has been a steady increase in the last

*Unfortunately neither this study nor the earlier one referred to includes history among the social studies investigated. Therefore we have no comparable data showing the exact extent to which American history is being taught. A careful inspection of many manuals outlining courses of study as issued by state and city departments of education however indicates that history is being taught almost universally.

three years in the number of schools teaching economics and sociology. (Table 1). The gain has been respectively from 36 and 9 per cent to 40.7 and 25.1 per cent. In economics there has been a shift from the theoretical text to the descriptive text. This is probably of greater importance from the point of view of labor than the increase in the number of schools teaching the subject. The total number of schools reporting the use of the descriptive text in economics was two-thirds of the entire number replying.*

In sociology there has been little change in the texts used, the four reported in 1919 as being most frequently employed, were still being used in 1922. As will be revealed subsequently, these particular sociology texts are satisfactory on the whole as judged by the standards laid down herein.

In general, while the foregoing figures indicate that things are improving with respect to the teaching of the social studies, conditions are still far from ideal. The most promising improvement noted, as already emphasized has been the shift from formal civics and theoretical economics to community or social civics and descriptive economics respectively. Altogether too few schools, however, are offering any courses in these or kindred subjects.

TABLE 1

Number of High Schools Which Teach Certain Social Sciences

	Number	*Per Cent*
Total Number of Schools Replying	6,624	100.0
Number of Schools Teaching:		
Machinery of Government—Civics	1,982	29.8
Modern Civics	3,815	57.4
Economic Theory—Economics	788	11.9
Modern Economics	1,919	28.8
Sociology	1,666	25.1
Current Events	5,712	86.1
Number of Schools Not Teaching:		
Civics	272	4.1
Economics	3,499	52.8
Sociology	4,958	74.8
Current Events	912	13.8
Number of Schools Planning to Introduce Next Year:		
Civics	276	4.2
Economics	624	9.4
Sociology	575	8.7
Current Events	76	1.1
Number of Schools Not Answering:		
Civics	555	8.6
Economics	418	6.3

*These figures must not be confused with those given on pages 72-73. The latter are based on our evaluation of the specific texts used while the figures given above are the result of a combination of the evaluations of the texts used, as made by principals of schools throughout the country whose standards of evaluation necessarily varied widely. The figures in the two instances are therefore not comparable. For our purposes those g ven on pages 72-73 are of most value.

Existing deficiencies become still more evident when we consider the proportion of the number of pupils actually taking social science courses at our schools. Thus Table 2 shows that the total number of students enrolled in the 6,624 schools reporting was 1,183,058. Of these only 23.4 per cent were taking civics, 5.4 per cent economics and 3.2 per cent sociology. Thirty-four per cent, however, were taking current events, in which course popular consideration is given to many of the problems, confronting every day society, including those of labor.

The comparatively small proportion of students taking the social subjects may in part be accounted for by a brief analysis of the grades in which the subjects are offered as well as by determining whether or not they are "elective" or "required." As revealed by Table 3 a total of 6,610 courses in civics were given and of these 81 per cent were required. These required civics courses were distributed as follows: 5.7 per cent in the seventh and eighth grades, 37.3 per cent in the ninth and tenth grades and 57 per cent in the eleventh and twelfth grades. The courses in economics offered totaled 3,129. Of these 1,166, or 37 per cent, were required, but of this total only 8, or less than 1 per cent, were given in the seventh and eighth grades, 54 or 4.6 per cent were given in the ninth and tenth grades, while 1,104, or 94.7 per cent, were given in the eleventh and twelfth grades. The situation is analogous with respect to the 1,666 courses in sociology given, 37 per cent being required, over 96 per cent of which are taught in the last two grades of high school.

A similar situation is revealed by Table 4, which shows the number of students enrolled by specified courses, i. e. civics, economics, sociology and similar courses.

TABLE 2

Number of Pupils Who Took Various Courses in the Social Sciences, 1921-1922

	Number	*Per Cent*
Number Enrolled in High Schools	1,183,058	100.0
Number of Pupils Taking:		
Machinery of Government—Civics	58,539	4.9
Modern Problems—Civics	219,880	18.5
Economic Theory—Economics	17,817	1.5
Modern Problems—Economics	47,263	3.9
Sociology	37,541	3.2
Current Events	401,197	33.9

TABLE 3

Schools In Which Specified Subjects Are Required or Elective

All Grades	Civics	Economics	Sociology	Similar Course	Total
Total Number of Courses	6,610	3,129	1,666	105	11,510
Number Required	5,638	1,166	611	67	7,482
Number Elective	888	1,889	995	30	3,802
Not Stated	64	53	40	3	160
Grades 7 and 8:					
Total	359	14	3	6	382
Number Required	324	8	2	5	338
Number Elective	32	6	1	1	40
Not Stated	4				4
Grades 9 and 10:					
Total	2,359	170	79	21	2,629
Number Required	2,108	54	28	15	2,205
Number Elective	233	112	51	5	401
Not Stated	18	4		1	23
Grades 11 and 12:					
Total	3,872	2,925	1,564	72	8,433
Number Required	3,206	1,104	581	47	4,939
Number Elective	624	1,771	943	23	3,361
Not Stated	42	49	40	2	133
Grade Not Stated	20	21	20	5	66

TABLE 4

Number of Students Enrolled in Specified Courses, Required and Elective, by Grades 1921-1922

All Grades	Civics	Economics	Sociology	Similar Course	Total
Total Number Enrolled	278,430	55,080	37,541	4,916	375,967
Required	248,382	28,990	14,284	4,053	295,709
Elective	27,728	25,007	22,207	763	75,705
Not Stated	1,983	959	743	54	3,739
Grades 7 and 8:					
Total	21,732	484	121	220	22,557
Required	19,833	344	65	170	20,412
Elective	1,899	140	56	50	2,145
Not Stated					
Grades 9 and 10:					
Total	152,054	4,040	2,823	1,300	160,217
Required	141,505	2,224	1,877	1,157	146,763
Elective	10,549	1,816	946	89	13,400
Not Stated				54	54
Grades 11 and 12:					
Total	102,324	59,473	34,290	3,350	199,437
Required	87,044	26,422	12,342	2,726	128,534
Elective	15,280	33,051	21,205	624	70,160
Not Stated			743		743
Grade Not Stated	337	124	307	46	814

The greater proportion of all students receiving instruction in these courses is concentrated in the later years of high schools.

It is evident that if instruction in such courses of fundamental importance is delayed until the last two years in high school—which in most instances means the last year—then a large proportion of students entering our junior and senior high schools will never benefit by these courses. For statistics clearly show that the larger percentage of students entering high school drop out before graduation. This makes it especially imperative that the basic social studies, those which treat largely of matters of vital concern to labor, should be introduced into the seventh and eighth grades, if not earlier. Thus it appears that there is a very decided need for an immediate reorganization of the curricula of most of our junior and senior high schools, so as to provide adequate opportunity for instruction in these important subjects.

PART III

SURVEY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXT-BOOKS

1. The Importance of the Text-Books.
2. Growth of the Social Studies.
3. Nature of the Tests Applied to Text-Books.
4. Summary of Findings.
5. Chief Criticisms of Text-Books.
6. Text-Books In Use.
7. The Selection of the Text-Book.
8. Subjects of Investigation Outside of Classroom.
9. Topics Discussed in Current Events.
10. The Inclusion of the Labor Movement in Courses of Study.

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TEXT-BOOK

The treatment of history, civics, and other social studies in the public schools is largely determined by the character of the text-books used. In higher institutions of learning, where numerous texts and source books may be employed in a given subject, the instructor has more scope for personal influence over the mode of instruction, and the same is true to a limited extent in the lower grades, where text-books often are not used at all. Even in these cases, however, and especially in the grade schools, the teacher's mind itself is colored by the book supplied. It is therefore of the highest importance to study the nature of the text-books in use in the social studies.

2. GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Years ago the social studies had almost no place in the public school curriculum. American history was taught, but it consisted almost entirely in a record of wars and political campaigns, names and dates. If civics were taught at all, it consisted in the study of the formal governmental machinery. Economics and sociology were not touched upon except in colleges. In recent years, however, these subjects have been more widely introduced into high schools and grade schools. During this same period, the point of view and treatment accorded to all of them has been changing. History courses are giving more attention to the growth of social and economic institutions, to the life of the people apart from military and political crises. "Community Civics" has expanded the subject-matter of civics to the inter-relationships of the citizens, classes and groups in the fields of activity other than that of formal government. Economics is coming to be taught, not as a body of "natural laws" and academic economic theory, but as a practical examination of the operation of economic groups and institutions as they exist. All this change is dictated by sound pedagogical method, and is calculated to enable the pupil to understand more realistically the world in which he lives, and to cope with it in terms of the present and future.

These tendencies are to be welcomed, but they introduce certain new dangers into public education. The subjects covered in such courses are bound to be more or less controversial in nature, and the teaching concerning them vitally affects powerful interests and prejudices. This leads to two possible injurious results: (*a*) Text-books and teachers, through a natural and innocent failing due to inadequate information, may inculcate a biased or prejudiced point of view, or (*b*) powerful interests affected may seize the opportunity to limit the nature of the instruction given, or attempt to turn it into channels favorable to themselves. Thus the public schools, instead of developing freely under the guidance of professional educators, may become battlegrounds for politics, for propaganda and counter-propaganda, with disastrous results to education.

3. NATURE OF TESTS APPLIED TO TEXT-BOOKS

It is with these developments in mind that we have devised the tests applied to the text-books used in public schools. In teaching the social sciences, it is obvious that old-fashioned didactic methods of teaching are not suitable to the new treatment, and lead directly to the dangers which it is necessary to avoid. Subjects should be presented, not in the form of finished judgments and dogmatic rules, to be learned and repeated, but rather as observations of the world about us, concerning which the pupil must to a great extent exercise his own judgments. In the case of highly controversial subjects, important dissenting views should be fairly and adequately presented. The attitude of no faction should be given as final truth. Of course, it is not necessary to insist on a dead and mechanical impartiality—one which must find "on the other hand" for every "on the one hand." If the books are fairly assessed on this general basis, the influence of ignorance or of reactionary selfish interests may be counteracted without running the danger of erring on the other side and thus inviting attack. The labor movement, unlike selfish interests, does not and can not depend for public favor upon narrow propaganda; what it wants and needs is the light of day and freedom of opinion. The more people know, and the more they think, the better in the long run for working men and women, and for all our citizenship.

The tests to be applied naturally develop from these premises. In the first place, is the book of old, narrow type, or of the newer and broader type? In the second place, is its general method that which inculcates certain fixed principles which may have been acceptable some time in the past, or, on the other hand, that which portrays society as a group of growing and changing institutions? In the third place, does it include adequate information about important subjects, particularly subjects of concern to the wage-earning population, such as trade-unionism, collective bargaining, standards of living, hours of work, safety and sanitation, housing, unemployment, civil liberty, and the judicial power? And in its treatment of these subjects, does it fairly present labor's point of view, as well as that of others?

In no case were any abstract or ideal standards set up. The standard of evaluation in each subject was determined only after examining a number of the best and most widely used books. And no hard-and-fast grading, or arranging of the books in an order of excellence, was attempted. It was aimed merely to evaluate each book in relation to a number of specific tests.

4. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The application of these tests to 123 text-books—47 histories, 47 civics, 25 economics, and 4 sociologies, brings out the fact that over half of the books (55 per cent) are of the newer type dealing with the broader aspects of government, and the social and industrial life of the people rather than with forms of organization, military events and abstract theories. Still a larger proportion (60 per cent) recognize to a greater or less degree the power for growth in our institutions—are dynamic rather than static in their method of treatment. In dealing with the questions of particular interest to labor—trade-unionism, collective bargaining, arbitration, standards of living, unemployment and the like—there is a great divergence in concept as well as in method of treatment. In general it may be said that the older formal texts either omit these subjects entirely or treat them so unsatisfactorily that for all practical purposes they might just as well be omitted. Some of the more modern ones deal with them briefly and perfunctorily but on the whole the newer type of text

does attempt to give the labor movement and the problems of industry better consideration.

The text-books in general use in civics, history and sociology are of the more modern and better type of book. In economics the theoretical text is gradually being replaced by the descriptive text. The use of these more modern books means that the labor movement and the subjects of interest to labor are being brought to the attention of the children to a greater extent. Similarly with the use of the new method of teaching current problems by actual investigation and observation, labor questions are brought to the fore. Discussion in classes in current events are often on topics of vital interest to labor. It is evident as never before that the teacher who conducts these classes and investigations should be fully qualified and free to teach the facts of industry in an unbiased and unprejudiced manner. It is only by such teaching that education can accomplish the great goal for which it has set out.

5. CHIEF CRITICISMS OF TEXT-BOOKS

In evaluating texts no attempt was made to grade them in order of excellence. We simply applied certain specific tests and noted the extent to which the particular book under consideration measured up to the standards set by the best and most widely used text-books in this field. In applying these tests we found that a majority of texts fell short of the standards in one or more important respects. These shortcomings may be grouped as follows.

(*a*) Failure to give the student an understanding of the present day structure of society.

(*b*) Failure to recognize clearly the growth of institutions. Presentation of static rather than dynamic point of view.

(*c*) Use of didactic method.

(*d*) Insufficient material presented to give a rounded view of the labor movement and of the problems of particular interest to labor.

(*e*) Misstatements of fact or misleading statements of fact.

(*f*) Misplaced emphasis or the consideration of the "abuses" of trade unions to the exclusion of all other features.

(*g*) Use of obsolete material.

To show the extent to which these criticisms apply to the 123 text-books evaluated we shall consider them seriatim illustrating where necessary to make our point perfectly clear.

FAILURE TO GIVE THE STUDENT AN UNDERSTANDING OF PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS

Of the forty-seven histories evaluated, twenty-one deal almost solely with military and political events rather than with the social organizations of the past and present. Twenty-three of the forty-seven civics deal with the forms rather than the functions of government. Twelve of the twenty-five economics lay down a series of principles with little reference to their application to present day conditions. The four sociologies are approximating modern in method of presentation. To sum up, almost half (45 per cent) of the total number of texts under consideration do not prepare the student to deal intelligently with the weighty social problems he will soon be called upon to meet.

FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE CLEARLY THE GROWTH OF INSTITUTIONS

A considerably smaller proportion of the texts fail to recognize that we are living in a changing world—that what is a problem today need not necessarily be a problem of the future. Roughly speaking, 45 per cent of the histories, 20 per cent of the civics and 12 per cent of the economics fail in this respect—this failure being largely on the part of the older publications.

USE OF DIDACTIC METHOD

A few texts offer a solution for many of our social ills without adequate discussion of the disease. A highly questionable opinion is given as if it were the last word on the subject. A number of texts advocate compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes without even defining the terms used, not to mention discussion of the issues involved. To illustrate from a community civics:

> "The best interest of the community may be gained when anything which is injurious to the welfare of the social group is not permitted to exist. Often because the unions and employers have not been able to come to an understanding the entire community has been made to suffer. This is a condition which should not be permitted in a democratic nation. *The remedy for this evil is to be found in compulsory arbitration.* There are two ways of carrying out the findings of the arbitration board. They may be enforced by the government or they may be published so that public opinion will support the side which is in the right."

This statement is not a summary. It stands by itself without substantiation, and does not even indirectly indicate that compulsory arbitration involves involuntary servitude.

MATERIAL ON LABOR MOVEMENT AND RELATED SUBJECTS INSUFFICIENT FOR UNDERSTANDING

The only valid criticism which may be made of the text-book handling of subjects such as unemployment, standards of living, workman's compensation, hours of labor, working conditions, and the legislation affecting these questions is the inadequacy and mediocrity of treatment. One-fifth of the histories and over half of the civics omit all mention of these questions, while a large proportion of the remainder treat only briefly and often perfunctorily of these important issues. This criticism applies to an even greater extent to the handling of the question of labor organization as such. To illustrate a not uncommon method of treatment of the labor movement we will quote from a history published within the last four years.

> "It was at about this time (1876) that organized labor began to be a force in American politics. The strike as a method of advancing the interest of the laboring man first came into general use in America about 1876 and 1877. The Knights of Labor formed in 1869 was a secret organization including laborers of all trades. In 1881 the American Federation of Labor was organized on the basis of the trade union but *with the same general object of promoting the interests of laborers through state and national legislation.* In 1884 the office of Commissioner of Labor was created in the Department of the Interior."

This with a few equally crude statements about the strikes of 1894 and 1902 are the only references to the labor movement.

MISSTATEMENTS OF FACT OR MISLEADING STATEMENTS OF FACT

However, we can not stop with pointing out the insufficiency and mediocrity of treatment of the subject of labor organization. There are other equally serious criticisms applicable to the handling of this subject in text-books which do not apply to the less controversial subjects of interest to labor. Actual misstatements of fact occur but of much greater frequency and of much more serious consequences are misleading statements of fact. In several texts the strike activities of unions are so inextricably bound up with the demonstrations of anarchists that the student who is given no other basis for judgment is very apt to confuse the legitimate efforts of workers to alleviate conditions with anarchistic activities.

The strike as a trade-union weapon comes in for more than its full share of misrepresentation. First, its place in the trade-union movement is over emphasized. Practically half of the histories which mention trade-unionism do so only in connection with strikes. It is clear that if it were not for their strike activities unions would be overlooked by the greater number of the history text-book writers. Second, the actual handling of strike material indicates that the average author fails to grasp the broader aspects and deeper significance of the trade-union movement. Some quotations from current texts will illustrate. The following is an extract from a text in economics by a well-known economist:

> "We may properly question whether workmen can best accomplish their objects by strikes, and shall consider in what the success of strikes depends."

The author goes on then to discuss such questions as the supply of labor, reserve funds of the union, state of the market, etc. He sums up:

> "There are, then, many things to be carefully considered if a strike is to succeed. If it fails, the workmen lose heavily. In fact, *there have been comparatively few successful strikes*. If the cause is a worthy one, for which the workmen are willing to undergo great sacrifices, and stand out a great length of time, in such a case it is far more likely that an arrangement of the difficulty could be made in other ways than by strikes. Strikes are too often the result of hasty action and of submission to unwise leaders, who are willing to draw salaries for noisy harangues; and the losses to both sides might be saved by a reciprocal desire to talk the matter over calmly in a business-like fashion. There is probably scarcely a cause worth striking for which could not be amicably settled by a fair-minded discussion on both sides. Conciliation should be more practiced than it is now. Moreover if both sides can not agree as to the fairness of the demands, let them select between them an arbitrator in whose honesty and justice they have confidence, and agree to abide by his decision. This will avoid all losses and remove a great many misunderstandings."

There seems to be not the slightest question in the author's mind but what the employers are always willing to settle disputes by conference. Consequently there is no necessity for a strike on the part of the union.

The thousands and thousands of agreements made by unions with their employers, something which the public seldom if ever learns, are not even hinted in this text book nor does the author seem to have any conception that not necessarily the strike but the right to strike and the power to strike is the leverage which compels consideration for the rights and the interests of the wage earners.

UNDUE CONSIDERATION OF THE "ABUSES" OF TRADE UNIONS

Still other texts err in that practically the whole section devoted to labor is taken up with a critical analysis of the so-called closed shop, the standard wage, limitation of output and strikes and boycotts. The American Federation of Labor feels that these weapons should be analyzed and discussed but not to the exclusion of all other phases of union activity. It need hardly be pointed out that a study of trade-union weapons alone does not give a sound basis for an understanding of the labor movement as a whole. The negative side should be given but emphasis should be placed on the positive side of the work of trade unions.

Trade unions foster education, safeguard child life, raise wages, and improve standards of life and work, increase independence, develop manhood, establish fraternity, reduce prejudice and induce liberality, enlarge society and

eliminate classes, create rights and abolish wrongs, lighten toil and brighten manhood, cheer the home and fireside and help to make the world better—these are considerations which are not contained in the text books.

USE OF OBSOLETE MATERIAL

A surprisingly large number of current texts are revisions of older editions. There is no fault to find with this practice provided that the book is actually revised and not merely reprinted in large part. Twenty or thirty years can affect great changes in our social life. To fail to take cognizance of these changes condemns a text on its face. An illustration of the sort of obsolete material found in some books still in use is the following excerpt from an economics text:

> "Whether there is, or has ever been, any real industrial occasion for trade unions in the United States is fairly a matter for question."

No economist writing today would make such an assertion.

In a number of texts the trade-union movement is treated as of 1890 or even earlier. The Knights of Labor is discussed as the dominant national organization of labor. The American Federation of Labor is either not mentioned in this connection or referred to in a footnote. Surely there have been changes worthy of note in the labor movement in the last thirty years.

We have criticized certain more or less general failings of text-book treatment of the labor movement. We have pointed out specific forms of discrimination which we consider manifestly unfair. Whether intentional or due to gross ignorance, the inclusion of material obviously unfair to labor in text-books is bound to create an unfavorable and often irremovable impression in the plastic mind of the child. We can not emphasize too strongly the need for unbiased and intelligent handling of controversial subjects in both text-book and classroom.

By analyzing in considerable detail the shortcomings of text-books in general we do not wish to obscure the fact that there are numerous excellent texts in use—texts which give a well-rounded and unbiased view of the social and industrial world in which we live. It is these texts which have made possible a critical analysis of all texts in the field. They show what can be done and is being done to equip the coming generations for their responsibilities as workers and citizens.

The day of the formal text is rapidly passing. This is proved conclusively by a correlation of the date of publication with the type of book. Of the twenty-one history texts published since 1919, only three are of the old narrow type; similarly all but four of the nineteen civics published during this same period are so-called community civics. With one exception the theoretical and formal civics and economics published since 1919 are revised editions.

6. TEXT-BOOKS IN USE

Not only is there an increasing supply of these better texts but also a steadily increasing demand. There is an evident desire on the part of the school authorities to introduce the more progressive texts into the schools.

The information gleaned from the answers to the questionnaires sent out by Moore, referred to before, show that out of 6,428 courses in civics in which a text-book was given, texts which we have evaluated as modern were used in 4,594, or 71 per cent, of the courses, while the texts designated as formal were used in 1,301, or 20 per cent, the remaining 384, or 9 per cent, being miscellaneous local texts. (A complete statement of the number of schools using each particular text in civics

economics and sociology is given in Appendices A, B, and C. Where less than four schools reported the use of a given text that text was included in the miscellaneous group.) The modern texts in most frequent use are Ashley's "New Civics," Beard's "American Citizenship," Dunn's, "The Community and the Citizen," Forman's, "The American Democracy," Hill's, "Community Life and Civic Problems," Hughes', "Community Civics," Magruder's, "American Government in 1921," and Reed's, "Forms and Functions of American Government." These books are being used in approximately half of all classes in civics.

In economics we find that out of a total of 2,866 texts specified 1,073, or 37 per cent, are descriptive and 1,679, or 58 per cent, are theoretical. One hundred and fifteen, or 5 per cent, of the texts were classified as miscellaneous. Strangely enough, we do not find the same marked preference for the newer descriptive type of text-book in economics that we find in civics. The trend is in the right direction, however, and as soon as teachers become more familiar with the subject they will demand the better texts in this field as they have in civics. The descriptive texts in widest use are Burch's "American Economic Life," Burch and Patterson's "American Social Problems," Hughes', "Economic Civics," Laing's, "An Introduction to Economics," Marshall & Lyon's, "Our Economic Organization," and Thompson's, "Elementary Economics." In sociology the books in use are all of the more modern type. Those most frequently reported are Burch and Patterson's, "American Social Problems," Elwood's, "Sociology and Modern Problems," Towne's, "Social Problems," and Tuft's, "The Real Business of Living." These four books are used in 88 per cent of the courses in sociology.

As already pointed out we have no similar detail statistics from which to draw conclusions with reference to the nature of the text-books used in history. However, from more general information furnished by state superintendents of schools in response to a questionnaire and by publishers it appears that history compares favorably with civics in the adoption of the better type of text. The modern books which are most widely used are Ashley's, "American History," Beard and Bagley's, "A First Book in American History," Beard's, "History of the United States," Bourne & Benton's, "History of the United States," Cousins & Hills', "American History," Evans', "The Essential Facts of American History," Forman's, "A History of the United States for Schools," and "Advanced American History," James & Sanford's, "American History," Mace's, "School History of the United States," Muzzey's, "American History," Thompson's, "History of the United States, Political, Industrial and Social," and West's, "History of the American People."

THE SELECTION OF THE TEXT-BOOK

We have shown that the newer and on the whole better texts are being used to a greater and greater extent in the schools. It may be well to consider for a moment who determines the specific text for use in a given course.

In a number of states texts are prescribed, in others a list of texts is adopted by a text-book commission or by the state board of education, or in some instances, by the state superintendent of public instruction. From this list the county or city school authorities or the teachers, as the case may be, choose the particular text they wish to use. In the majority of states, however, the selection of text-books is left to the local school authorities. Information on this point was gathered by means of questionnaires sent to all state superintendents of schools. Of the twenty-six states heard from seven prescribed a given text or at most three texts from which the teacher could choose one. For each course in both elementary and secondary schools, three

prescribe a text for use in the grammar grades only, one in the high schools only, and fifteen states leave the selection of texts in all grades to the local school authorities.

The text-books thus prescribed in certain states are on the whole good. With a few exceptions they are modern in tendency and liberal in viewpoint. Some of them are among the best texts on the particular subject. But, nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that there is danger in prescribing a text for use in a given course in all schools in the state. Reactionary forces may more easily be brought to bear upon the person or small group of persons who make the selection, than they could be upon school boards or teachers throughout the state. Furthermore a persuasive and energetic publisher's agent may prevail upon a text-book commission to use his publication rather than a better text put out by a rival concern. If the text when once adopted could be readily changed there would not be so much danger from this sort of manipulation. But in a number of states, the law requires that when a book has been adopted it can not be changed for a period ranging from four to six years. Rules of this sort probably account in part for the comparatively large number of schools still using texts which are out of date in every respect. Such a state of affairs should not be countenanced.

8. SUBJECTS OF INVESTIGATION OUTSIDE OF CLASSROOM

More progressive teachers of the social subjects have the students carry on investigations outside of the classroom. Information on the subjects investigated was obtained from the questionnaires sent out to high schools throughout the country. The most popular subject in economics, judging from the answers given, is "local wage problems." Half of all the subjects investigated are of particular interest to labor. (See Appendix D for the number of schools investigating each particular subject.)

In civics the investigations followed more closely governmental activities but labor was mentioned as a topic in a number of instances. (See Appendix E.)

9. TOPICS DISCUSSED IN CURRENT EVENTS

In the teaching of current events, labor and industrial questions in general are also popular subjects for discussion. Topics quite generally listed in the 5,712 schools which give courses in current events are strikes, labor and capital, economic industrial conditions, immigration, cost of living, and social problems. (See Appendix F.)

From a study of these it appears that whether considered in text-books or not the subjects of trade unionism and the problems of industry are of such live interest that they can not be kept out of the schools. It is therefore highly essential that the teacher be equipped to teach the social sciences and be able to keep the classroom work and discussion on the proper plane.

10. THE INCLUSION OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN COURSES OF STUDY

Both teacher and pupil are profoundly influenced in their thinking by the text-book provided. It usually determines the facts to be taught and the method of teaching them. Where text-book selection is optional with the local school authorities it may readily be seen that a great variety of texts will be in use with the result that the students in no two schools will come out with quite the same fund of information. Some may have failed entirely to get certain facts and points of view considered essential by the teaching profession. In an attempt to systematize and standardize the teaching of a given subject within a city or state, detailed courses of

study have in many instances been worked out as a guide for teachers in that city or state. The average teacher follows these outlines more or less slavishly, teaching only that which is laid before him. It is therefore important to determine whether the central school authorities who prepare these courses of study include the labor movement and allied subjects as topics for consideration in courses in civics and history. With this in mind, thirty-eight recently issued manuals of courses of study on file at the U. S. Bureau of Education were carefully surveyed. Approximately half of them did not mention labor questions in any connection and a large proportion of the remainder did not outline the subject with sufficient intelligence to make the method of approach clear to the teacher.

One outline for use in the junior high school of a large city advocates the teaching of "the effect of immigration on labor problems." This is the only mention made of labor. In another outline extensively used the only reference to labor is in connection with the strike of 1876. A typical outline of the better type reads as follows:

> "The Labor Problem—necessity for labor organization, methods of enforcing demands, the public and strikes, some memorable strikes, welfare work and cooperation."

An exceptionally good course of study suggests the following topics for consideration under "Health":

> "Length of the working day.
> Need for adequate wage.
> Sanitary regulations.
> Prevention of occupational diseases.
> Regulation of work of children under 16 years."

Under "Wealth" we find trade unions listed as "voluntary organizations aiding industry." In this connection the following advice is given to teachers:

> "Pupils who are acquainted with members of labor organizations may be asked to find out what they can about such organizations; how their membership is made up, the purpose of the unions, what they do for their members, the local union of workers within a trade, the federation of the unions.
>
> "These pupils should then report to the class their findings and be ready if possible to answer questions which other members of the class may wish to ask. The positive rather than the negative side of the work of labor unions should be emphasized. Bring out the idea of the service the union may render the community by protecting the interests of the working man and by raising hiswages and his standard of living."

PART IV

Conclusions

The following conclusions are warranted as a result of our investigation:

1. Although there are selfish and reactionary forces at work endeavoring to influence public school education, the effect of these forces is minimized to a large extent by those progressive bodies striving to raise the educational standard along lines considered sound by our most eminent educators.

2. Nevertheless these reactionary forces have done considerable harm to public education, not so much by their direct influence on the content of text-books and curricula as by the subtle prejudices they have created especially in the minds of legislators and public education officers. These prejudices work themselves out on the great body of teachers, tending to deprive them of independence of thought and action. Indeed the very moral freedom of teachers has been and is being menaced by these forces. Thus perhaps our schools are facing their greatest crisis in this quarter. This situation can best be met by full publicity and by organization of the teachers themselves.

3. Virtually all educational authorities agree that the social sciences should be taught much more extensively than at present, and in fact should become the backbone of our educational system, especially that of secondary education. One authority in particular would allocate one-third of the entire curriculum in our schools from the kindergarten to the end of the A. B. course in college to the social sciences.

4. The researches and conclusions of prominent educational authorities who have given special consideration to the social studies show that the history, achievements, status and ideals of the trade-union movement in the modern world form one of the most important parts in the adequate presentation of these sciences. This important conclusion is further confirmed by the expressed opinions and judgments of a large number of our most prominent educators as determined by special inquiry. The necessity for presenting both sides of any controversial phase of the labor movement is also stressed by these authorities. The whole course of the American Federation of Labor has been in entire accord with this position.

5. From two comprehensive surveys, one conducted in 1919 and another in 1922, and from other material and data surveyed, it is evident that the teaching of the social sciences is making headway in our public schools. Modern standards, however, are observed only in a portion of the schools teaching the social sciences, so that there is still much progress to be made in this respect.

6. One especially serious situation with respect to the extent to which these subjects are being taught is that economics, civics, sociology or kindred subjects are, in most instances, given only in the last two years of high school. Thus a great number of students, even including those who pass through the junior high school, are deprived of an opportunity to become informed in these very important fields.

7. Courses of study and text-books in history, civics, economics and sociology are beginning to reflect the conclusions of educators that the labor movement as a force in recent and modern life is of such vital importance that it can not be disregarded in our schools. The treatment of labor, its history, accomplishments, aims, and ideals, in modern text-books, although much better than that accorded in the older type of texts, is still far from ideal. Errors, misstatement of facts, and misplaced emphasis are sometimes found. Again inadequacy of treatment as well as the presentation of obsolete material by some text-book writers tends seriously to minimize the importance of the labor movement in the texts of these authors.

We feel confident in general that no insurmountable obstacles exist which will interfere witheffecting continuous improvements in the treatment of labor by the text-books devoted to the social sciences.

PART V

Appendices

A. The Number of Schools Using Each Specified Text in Civics.

B. The Number of Schools Using Each Specified Text in Economics.

C. The Number of Schools Using Each Specified Text in Sociology.

D. Observations, Investigations, etc., Carried on Outside the School for Economics Course by Number of Schools.

E. Observations, Investigations, etc., Carried on Outside of School for Civics Course by Number of Schools.

F. Typical Subjects Discussed in Current Events by Number of Schools.

APPENDIX A

The Number of Schools Using Each Specified Text in Civics

Author	Title	Number of Schools Using
*Adams	A Community Civics	10
*Ashley	The New Civics	581
*Beard	American Citizenship	96
Boynton	School Civics	252
Clark	The Government	6
*Dole	The New American Citizen	9
*Dunn	The Community and the Citizen	317
*Finch	Everyday Civics	24
*Forman	The American Democracy	298
Garner	Government in the United States	210
*Giles	Vocational Civics	58
Guitteau	Government and Politics in the United States	494
*Hill	Community Life and Civic Problems	31
Hinsdale	The American Government	14
*Hughes	Community Civics	1,492
James & Sanford	Government in State and Nation	151
*Lapp	Our America	32
*Magruder	American Government in 1921	1,159
*Nida	City, State and Nation	7
Peterman	Elements of Civil Government	5
Philips	Nation and State	11
*Reed	Forms and Functions of American Government	417
Reinsch	Civil Government	8
*Stickles	Elements of Government	43
*Turkington	My Country	14
Woodburn and Moran	Citizen and Republic	150
*Ziegler & Jacquette	Our Community	6
Miscellaneous		523
Total		6,428

*Social and community civics, rather than purely governmental.

APPENDIX B

The Number of Schools Using Each Specified Text in Economics

Author	Title	Number of Schools Using
*Adams	Description of Industry	21
Bullock	The Elements of Economics and Introduction to the Study of Economics	284
*Burch	American Economic Life	108
Burch & Nearing	Elements of Economics	199
*Burch & Patterson	Problems of American Democracy and American Social Problems	10
*Carlton	Elementary Economics	13
Carver	Elementary Economics and Principles of Political Economy	494
*Ellwood	Sociology and Modern Problems	7
Ely	Outlines of Economics	33
Ely & Wicker	Elementary Principles of Economics	521
*Hughes	Economic Civics	47
Johnson	Introduction to Economics	5
*Laing	An Introduction to Economics	96
Laughlin	Elements of Political Economy	129
*Marshall & Lyon	Our Economic Organization	54
Seager	Economics—Briefer Course	10
*Thompson	Elementary Economics	671
*Towne	Social Problems	16
*Tufts	The Real Business of Living	24
Walker	First Lessons in Political Economy	4
Miscellaneous		120
Total		2,866

*Modern and descriptive texts, rather than formal and theoretical.

APPENDIX C

The Number of Schools Using Each Specified Text in Sociology

Author	Title	Number of Schools Using
*Burch & Patterson	American Social Problems	241
*Ellwood	Sociology and Modern Problems	412
*Towne	Social Problems	558
*Tufts	The Real Business of Living	68
Miscellaneous		182
Total		1,461

*Modern and descriptive texts, rather than formal and theoretical.

APPENDIX D

Observations, Investigations, etc., Carried On Outside the School for Economics Course by Number of Schools

Visit local plants	202
Local wage problems	25
Local standard of living	9
Local school problem	15
Markets and production	45
Local taxation	34
Visits to banks and banking	109
Comparison of local conditions with others	16
Cost of living	53
Rents and housing	18
Visit Public institutions	22
Organization of a social problems club	1
Corporations	12
Visit stock exchange	11
Study local strikes	13
Study daily market reports	48
Local application—workingmen's compensation	3
Visit stores	37
City ordinances	11
Americanization	4
Transportation	43
Talks by professional and business men	34
Agriculture	42
Visits to courts	15
Local agencies of government	27
Local improvements	7
Race question	5
Interview business and professional men	14
Labor	48
Community surveys	62
Visit post office	2
Local economic conditions	174
Natural resources	22
Investments	5
Public utilities	10
Immigration	6
Tariff	2
International relations	11
Social welfare	32
Socialism	7
Crime	4
Miscellaneous	71
Total	1,331

APPENDIX E

Observations, Investigations, etc., Carried On Outside the School for Civics Course by Number of Schools

Visit courts	861
Visit legislative bodies	201
Visit city or local government departments	396
Study activities of local government	916
Study local industrial conditions and plants	205
Study of local community problems	217
History of community—past and current	36
Study of local elections	330
Labor	18
Public utilities	100
Report activities of Chamber of Commerce	19
City or town planning	44
Town sanitation (sewers, etc)	79
Local taxation	71
Local park and recreation centers	36
Study milk supply	15
Education	72
Agriculture	28
Welfare and charitable institutions	59
Report world conferences	40
Public institutions	65
Public health	87
Business men talk to class	47
Local crime and its treatment	5
Local Americanization work	33
Visit slums	12
Immigration	9
Transportation	52
Vocational selection investigation	18
Cost of living	29
Miscellaneous	872
Total	4,972

APPENDIX F

Typical Subjects Discussed in Current Events by Number of Schools

Arms Conference	1,926
Far eastern problems	290
Strikes, capital and labor	585
International relations	901
Domestic politics	657
Transportation problems	179
Irish situation	616
Prohibition	98
Tariff	65
Taxation	134
Mechanical inventions	211
Scientific discoveries	274
Race questions	123
Russia	91
Prominent people	106
Crime	46
Agriculture	98
Education	86
Public health	20
Debs case	16
Cost of living	58
Economic industrial conditions	665
Legislative activities	654
Geographic results of war	25
Immigration	143
Americanization	31
Literature and art	104
Local improvements	51
Conservation and reclamation	43
Britain's colonies	22
Mexican situation	6
Suffrage	4
Allied debt	33
German indemnity	52
France	23
Socialism	10
Soldier bonus	51
Social welfare	70
European problems	110
Public utilities	6
Social problems	231
Commerce	18
Miscellaneous	172
Total	9,104

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